Truman's New Team—*Willard Shelton*

THE *Nation*

September 23, 1950

A REPORT FROM ROME

The Holy Year

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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Preview of the U. N. Assembly

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

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The Bankers' Inflation - - - - - - - - - *Keith Hutchison*

China: Banquo's Ghost - - - - - - - - - *Vera M. Dean*

The Soviet Reality - - - - - - - - - *Reinhold Niebuhr*

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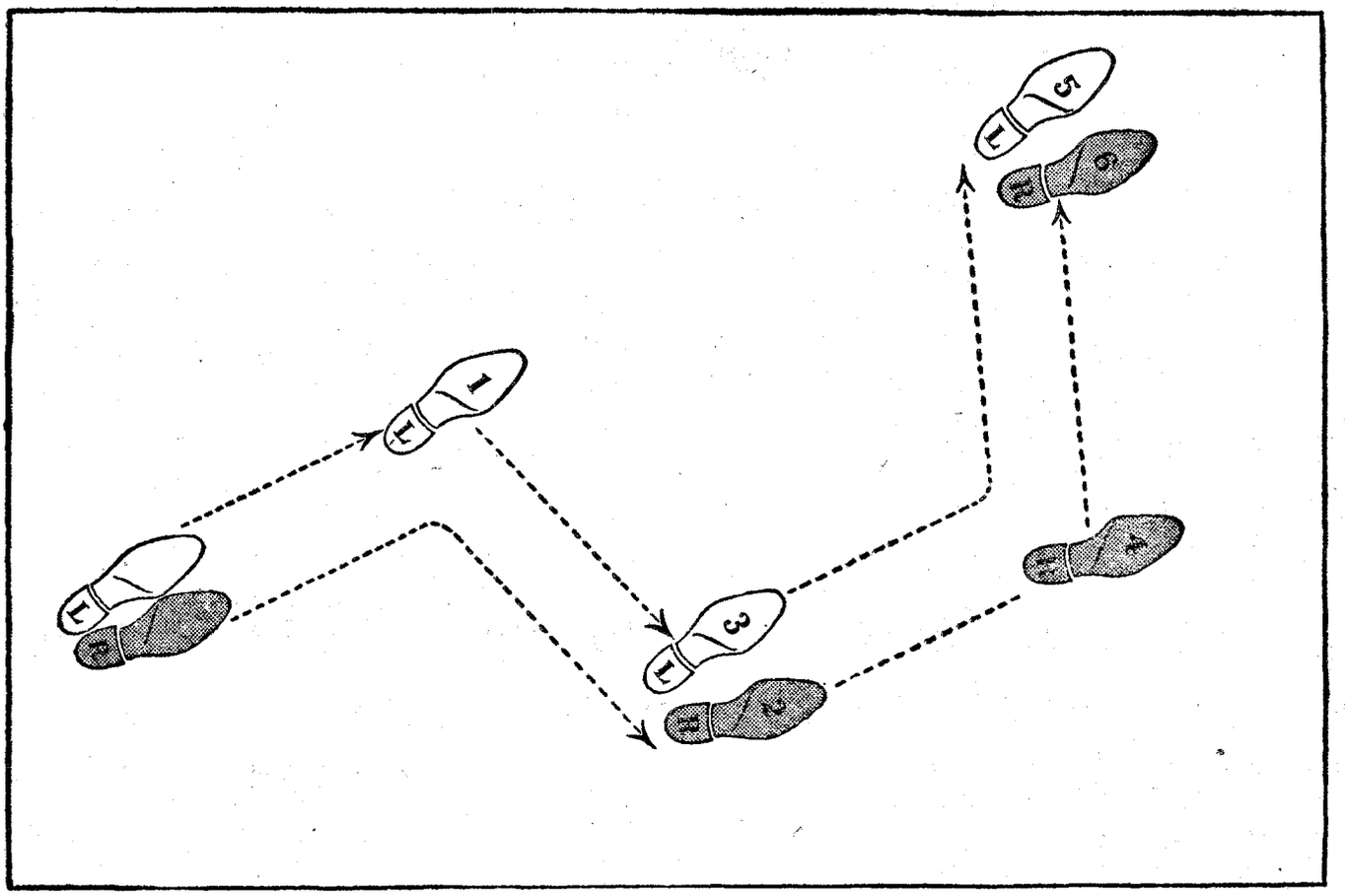

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

ONE LANDING DOES NOT MAKE A VICTORY; it makes only a beachhead. But the American landing at Inchon increases the United Nations' beachheads in Korea by 100 per cent. The operation involved many bold gambles, both military and political. Not only did it draw men and material away from the defense line around Pusan, but its ultimate success depends upon unknowable factors such as the strength of the North Koreans in the Seoul area and the possibility of direct intervention by the Chinese or Russians. The next few days will tell the tale. If we keep the strategic initiative and cut off the Communist army from its main bases of supply in North Korea, only outside help on a large scale will be likely to reverse the course of events. But if the Russians or Chinese should commit their own forces to the struggle they would do so knowing that they were inviting general war, and that is a price Moscow is not prepared to pay. What the United Nations should now begin to consider in earnest is the policy it will follow if and when the North Koreans are defeated in the field. Already a case is being built up for the incorporation of North Korea in the republic created by the United States and recognized by the United Nations. To attempt this, however, would be to fly in the face of the known facts about Syngman Rhee's unstable and unpopular regime. The best hope for a workable solution of the conflict that divided North and South lies in a limited U. N. trusteeship for the whole country to mediate differences, supervise demobilization on both sides, and, after a suitable period of settling down, observe and control elections for a government to rule a reunited republic. Plans for peace along some such lines should be ready to apply as soon as the fighting ends.

*

THE BIG THREE MERGED INTO THE TWELVE and the conversations of the Twelve overran the opening sessions of the General Assembly, but the toughest questions concerning European rearmament had not yet been answered. The chief obstacle to agreement was the issue of Germany. Whatever Washington may have imagined, official French resistance to the rearming of the Germans had been only dented by American arguments during the preliminary talks in Paris and London. And European public opinion—the thing American policy-makers most easily forget—remained unmarked. The people of all the countries overrun by Hitler still fear the rebirth of German military power at least as much as they fear possible Russian attack. First, they don't trust the Germans to fight on their side when the showdown comes. Second, they believe that a rearmed Germany, even if it marches with the West, will rapidly fall under the control of Nazi and other nationalist-militarist elements and in the end will dominate the alliance. Even the promise of three or four additional American divisions in Germany is not likely to lay these fears. Foreign Minister Schuman's request for more time to consult his government about the Acheson proposal that West German forces should be incorporated in the future Atlantic army reflected both popular sentiment and the official view that a unified Allied defense system should come first. If Washington forces the issue to the point of surrender, the obvious first result will be to increase "neutralist" feeling on the Continent and hand the Communists the best talking point they have had in months.

*

THERE IS A DISTINCT POSSIBILITY THAT BY the time this issue of *The Nation* reaches its readers the British Labor government will have been defeated and Britain will be facing an immediate general election. The political crisis which blew up last week out of an apparently clear sky followed an announcement that the act passed last year nationalizing the iron-and-steel industry would be put into effect on the appointed day, January 1, 1951. Naturally the opposition parties are challenging this step, but their expressions of horrified surprise appear a little disingenuous. For there has never been good reason to suppose that the Labor Party would be willing to nullify this act. Prime Minister Attlee, when questioned on the subject soon after last winter's general election, declared very firmly that the government regarded steel nationalization as an accomplished fact, and subsequent suggestions to the contrary which have appeared from time to time in the opposition press have been based purely on wishful thinking. It is being said of course that implementation of the act is a move calculated to disrupt national unity at a time of crisis, and perhaps the prospective loss of rearmament profits will tend to weaken the support of some steel

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 257
Sauce for the Goose 259
Liberalism Outsmarted 260

ARTICLES

Truman's New Team *by Willard Shelton* 261
China: Banquo's Ghost *by Vera Micheles Dean* 262
Preview of the U. N. Assembly *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 264
The Holy Year: Fact and Fiction *by Paul Blanshard* 266
Beside the Point *by Robert Bendiner and Margaret Marshall* 268
Everybody's Business: The Bankers' Inflation *by Keith Hutchison* 269

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Soviet Reality *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 270
The New History *by Joseph Kraft* 271
Some Recent Fiction *by Ernest Jones* 273
Films *by Manny Farber* 273
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 275

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 275

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 280 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 276

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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shareholders for the defense program. But the government had also to take into account the psychological effect on the workers of failure to carry out the nationalization act. With prices and profits going up and living standards threatened with decline, the workers are already restive, and their enthusiasm for the defense program might very well have been dampened had it been made an excuse for outright appeasement of big business.

*

THE GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO stick by its guns may cause its overthrow, since its always scanty majority has been still further reduced by sickness. However, it has evidently decided that this is an issue of principle on which it cannot afford to retreat. Some observers believe that if as a result it is forced to appeal to the electorate for a new mandate, it may quite possibly improve its position. At the polls, nationalization of steel would not prove a decisive issue: the Labor Party forfeited all the votes it could lose on that score last February. The thoughts of the electorate will almost certainly be concentrated on the international crisis, and the question they will ask themselves is: Which party will be most likely to save us from war? This does not mean that there is any serious division of opinion about the broad principles of foreign policy. The vast majority of Britons favor firm opposition to Soviet aggression as the best way to prevent war. But firmness is one thing and provocation something else, and it may be that the quiet resolution of Mr. Attlee is at this time more in tune with the British mood than the alarmingly belligerent eloquence of Mr. Churchill.

*

BECAUSE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR Chapman and Governor Gruening of Alaska are first-class fighting men, they have saved their reputations from the underhanded assault of Senator Schoeppel of Kansas and his trigger man, Frank T. Bow. Schoeppel retired into a frightened silence after questioning the loyalty of Chapman and Gruening. Bow, who is running for Congress in Ohio, was compelled to admit that he had furnished the shoddy material for Schoeppel's speech; that in preparing it he had consulted spokesmen of the avaricious salmon industry, which opposes statehood for Alaska; that he had furnished advance copies of the speech for distribution through the Republican Congressional campaign committee. Seldom has a Congressional witness taken a more severe tongue lashing than that given Bow when he made his confessions to the Senate committee. But behind all this is the fact that in the poisonous atmosphere created by Joe McCarthy character assassination has become a routine technique. The Republican Senate policy committee hastily disavowed any responsibility for Schoeppel, but it has never disavowed McCarthy, and that is

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why junior demagogues like Bow and Schoeppel have the gall to try their own luck with slanders and false witness.

*

AFTER THE SUCCESSIVE PRIMARY DEFEATS of Senators Pepper, Graham, and Taylor, it is not surprising that liberals should relish what grains of comfort they can find, even in such unlikely areas as Maine and New Hampshire. If Harry Truman is any judge of political trends—he did rather well in this field two years ago—last week's early election in Maine was distinctly encouraging. The total vote, as the President pointed out, was higher than in 1948, with the Democrats increasing their strength in three Congressional races, as well as in the contest for governor, by margins greater than the additional vote. In New Hampshire the unpredictable Senator Tobey, a flaming liberal at least in contrast to Wesley Powell, his young opponent, squeaked through for renomination. In view of the supposed temper of the country and the nature of Powell's support, it was a pleasant surprise that Tobey won at all. In a way New Hampshire's Republican primary was a testing ground for the G. O. P.'s plan to win an election with Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist China lobby having made Tobey a trial target. Alfred Kohlberg, its guiding spirit, contributed to the Powell war chest, and a vindictive campaign was put on by the Manchester *Union and Leader,* whose publisher, William Loeb, happens also to be chairman of Kohlberg's American China Policy Association. Additional Powell funds came from Tom Girdler (Republic Steel) and similar sources. But more important perhaps was the fact that the thirty-four-year-old hopeful was generally accepted as the candidate of Styles Bridges, the state's tory senior Senator and a man hankering to dominate New Hampshire's political life. The result of the primary is a setback for the Old Guard and the China lobby and a victory for a man independent enough to be branded a "Truman Republican."

*

THE DEATH OF GENERAL SMUTS REMOVES from the world stage one of its most picturesque figures. In his long life he had played many parts—lawyer, soldier, statesman, scientist, philosopher. As a young man leading a commando of Boer farmers, he fought the British Empire with skill and gallantry. When that unequal battle ended, he turned with his chief, Louis Botha, to the task of reconciling Briton and Boer and became one of the chief architects of the self-governing Union of South Africa. Smuts emerged as a world figure during the first war against Germany, when he went to London as a member of the Imperial War Council, and it was at this time that he adumbrated the principles later embodied in the Statute of Westminister (1931), which established the British Commonwealth as an association of free and equal nations. He was prominent at the Versailles peace conference, where he signed the treaty with Germany under protest, seeing in it "the seeds of future war," and helped write the League of Nations Covenant. Again in 1945 he drafted the preamble to the United Nations Charter. But there was always a contradiction between Smuts the international idealist and Smuts the South African politician. In the first role he proclaimed the brotherhood of man; in the second he followed a policy of white supremacy which, although more subtle and more cautious, was not essentially different from the crude racism of the present South African government. He could talk to a world audience about the necessity for turning from "the old concept of feudalism" to "the concept of one world inhabited by one human family." Yet he never really took issue with the Afrikander view that black men have no place in the human family except as humble retainers.

Sauce for the Goose

IT IS about time that Congress was reminded of its constitutional position. Its recent directive to the President to give a loan to Franco saw it stepping outside its proper sphere and attempting to make foreign policy for this country. Now it is seeking to dictate the foreign policies of other countries.

Last week, in approving a supplemental appropriations bill, the Senate adopted a rider proposed by Senator Wherry the purpose of which was to bar all economic aid to any nation that sold to Russia or Russia's allies any commodity or article deemed to be useful in the manufacture of arms, armaments, or military material. The task of drawing up a list of such commodities, which would necessarily be a long one, was assigned to the Secretary of Defense. Once the list was issued, European countries would have to respect it or suffer the prescribed consequences.

Let us look at some of the implications of this rider which Senator Lodge of Massachusetts fittingly described as "a headlong approach to a complex subject." It is no secret that Senator Wherry's particular target is Britain, which has been selling to the Soviet Union machine tools, electrical equipment, steel products, and other goods which directly or indirectly could add to Russia's military potential. Why is Britain doing this? Very simply because it is only in exchange for such goods that it can obtain from Russia coarse grains, lumber, and other commodities of the first importance to the British economy.

The British Cabinet, therefore, has had to consider the balance of advantage. It has banned the sale to "iron curtain" countries of certain kinds of war material; it has under consideration some additional restrictions. But it knows that if it refuses to sell capital goods and raw materials and offers only fountain pens, toys,

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whiskey, and the like, it may slightly reduce the Soviet war potential but will at the same time harm its own recovery program and diminish its ability to strengthen its defenses. For either Britain would have to make do with less grain and lumber, with serious consequences for home food production, housing, and other vital activities, or it would have to increase its purchases of these commodities in the United States and Canada. Since, however, its supply of dollars is strictly limited, it would then be forced to cut purchases of American metals, chemicals, machinery, and other goods required for the rearmament program which we are urging it to expand.

Have we, then, the right to decide for Britain, or any other country, where the balance of advantage lies in trading with the Soviet sphere? Are we prepared to face the accusation that we are practicing "dollar diplomacy" the real objective of which is to diminish competition for American grain and lumber exporters? Are we ourselves ready to ban all trade that in any way could aid the Soviets in pursuing aggressive policies? We are, for instance, still buying manganese and other strategic materials from Russia and so supplying the Kremlin with dollar funds which it can and does use to finance anti-Western propaganda throughout the world. The government of the United States has not moved to end such transactions, presumably because it considers that the balance of advantage is on our side. Our allies also have the right to decide for themselves the extent to which they will trade with the Soviet nations, and Congress should think more than twice before it attempts to override their judgment.

Liberals Outsmarted

WHEN it comes to getting repressive laws on the books, whatever their comparative merits or the nature of the emergency, a liberal legislator is out of his element. Against the professionals of the right he is a duffer—outbid, outmaneuvered, and finally trapped into going much farther than he had ever intended to go. To this stark political truth the fiasco of the McCarran bill gives fresh and dismal testimony.

Here was a measure that not only appalled the Senate's liberals—the Humphreys, the Douglases, and Kilgores whom we have had good cause to admire in these pages—but outraged much of the conservative press of the country. The New York *Times* saw in it "such curbs of freedom of speech and press and political association as to render suspect all but the most orthodox, the most conformist." And the Washington *Post* found it "as dangerous to the national security it pretends to protect as to the American tradition of personal freedom it utterly ignores." This is the bill that would allow the Attorney General to single out organizations for required registration—with crippling restrictions for those that obeyed and severe penalties for those that didn't; that would introduce viciously undemocratic procedures into the immigration system and would so interfere with the staffing of foreign missions as all but to force the closing, for example, of the Yugoslav embassy.

Against this Know-Nothing conglomeration, which the President had already pledged himself to veto, the liberal band in the Senate conceived the notion of pitting a bill that called for even more drastic treatment of allegedly subversive elements, though it was to be applied only in case of war, invasion, or insurrection. This sweeping measure, introduced by Senator Kilgore, provided for detention of suspects, who would be confined for the duration unless they could establish their innocence of any intention to commit espionage or sabotage. No doubt these good Senators were conscious of the need for security, at least as much so as the McCarrans, Mundts, and Nixons. But they knew that on this score the FBI would round up subversives with or without their bill. At bottom, we suspect, they were attempting to head off the McCarran measure by a spectacular display of anti-Communist vigilance of their own. Senator Douglas, in particular, hammered away, not at the viciousness and unconstitutionality of the McCarran bill, but at its alleged "ineffectiveness"—the fact that registration provisions were unworkable and would give us less security, not more.

We believe that Douglas was right on this score, but the result of his emphasis was what he should have foreseen. His opponents met him "halfway" by accepting his detention program, not in place of their own but *in addition* to it. Caught in the trap, he and all but seven of his group felt compelled to vote for the combination when that bright proposal was suddenly pulled out of the hat by Majority Leader Lucas. Each side had damned the other's measure as unlawful, unconstitutional, and a threat to the country, only to vote for it as part of a package.

Aside from giving civil liberties in the United States the sharpest setback since the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams's day, the performance was a monumental blunder politically. As we go to press, we can only hope that the President will make good his promise to veto the bill, but it is clear that the maneuvering of his liberal "supporters" on the Hill has made his position far more difficult than it was, if not untenable. An inflamed country will find it hard to understand why a Harry Truman finds a bill too reactionary when all but seven of the Senate's top liberals voted for it.

Besides the President, Senator Lehman is left very much out on a limb by the shocking vote on the McCarran-Kilgore omnibus. History, we trust, will give all seven dissenters the commendation they deserve, but surely the New York Senator rates a special citation. Of

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the others, Graham and Taylor are lame ducks, Leahy intends to retire, Green and Murray are probably too old to contemplate running again when their terms expire, and Kefauver at least has four years before having to face his constituents. But Lehman is up for reelection in less than two months. Although committed to the Kilgore bill, like the others, he demonstrated his moral courage by refusing to go along with the combination.

We are aware of the pressures that beat down on the others—and they include some of the finest names in the Senate. We know, too, that they were dragged along by Lucas's completely unexpected maneuver. And we understand the sensitivity of these men to the jeopardy in which they felt their party's candidates would be placed if the Democrats in Congress could point to no record of anti-Communist achievement. But none of these considerations, we are certain, weighs against the folly of lending even tactical support to the McCarran monstrosity. The hysterical will not credit the Democrats with its passage in any case; so the Senate liberals have given moral ground to no purpose whatever. We can only hope that by the time this issue appears, the President will have offered them a chance to recover that ground in an all-out battle to sustain his veto. These are times that call for a bold defense of principle, not for the kind of politics that trips on its own cleverness.

Truman's New Team

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 15

WHEN President Truman decided to fire Louis Johnson as Secretary of Defense, he apparently turned almost instinctively to General Marshall, for whom he has frequently indicated feelings approaching reverence. I don't know whether the President ever seriously considered the idea of a Republican successor—Johnson had manifestly become an unendurable liability—but if he did, he hastily abandoned the notion when he learned last week that Marshall's health had greatly improved. The General's return, in any case, means that the control of events, in so far as they can be controlled by Americans in this semi-delirious epoch, is at least in the hands of a team of Truman subordinates who can be expected to move energetically and to give our policy clarity and continuity.

Marshall, like Secretary of State Acheson, recognizes that our central objective must be to help organize the defenses of the Atlantic community—not to dissipate American power in vain adventures in Asia. Four years ago he rejected the proposal that American divisions should be used to salvage Chiang Kai-shek's government. Relations between Marshall and Acheson are close. Marshall as Secretary of State promoted Acheson to be Under Secretary, and last week, before leaving for the Big Three conference in New York, Acheson paid a visit to Marshall on the General's Virginia farm. With Marshall the direct superior of General MacArthur, the country has better protection against a repetition of such a politico-military stunt as MacArthur's "withdrawn" letter asking the people, in effect, to overrule President Truman's announced policy regarding Formosa.

Some Republicans, deprived of Johnson as a target, promptly began to increase their fire on Acheson, but the Secretary of State is both a stronger man than Johnson and in a more secure position with President Truman. None of Acheson's staff, since June 27, have attempted to save their boss by undermining Johnson, as some of Johnson's staff have worked against Acheson. There has been no babbling by State Department subordinates about "preventive" war. Acheson rejects the doctrine of preventive war as immoral. He has iron in his character, as even Joe McCarthy may have dimly begun to realize, and when the President said yesterday in his news conference that Acheson would remain in the Cabinet, he did so in a manner conveying his full confidence in the Secretary's ability and—even more important to Mr. Truman—his loyalty.

Two other members of the group now in control are W. Averell Harriman, as White House coordinator of foreign policy, and W. Stuart Symington, as coordinator of economic mobilization and military production. The feeling among their staff members is that the four men should work together effectively, with a minimum of bureaucratic or personal rivalries. One of Marshall's first big jobs is to determine exactly how many men we need in the armed forces and how quickly, how they shall be equipped, and where they shall be stationed. According to the President's most recent statement, our expenditures for rearmament will be at the rate of $30,000,000,000 a year by June 30, 1951, and later will be still higher. A figure of $40,000,000,000 a year emerged from the Pentagon today. Once the broad decisions are made, it will be Symington's job to set the policies for production and procurement.

Some of the "confidential" news letters purporting to give business men the inside story of Administration chicanery, are complaining that Mr. Truman violated an old principle by denying final authority on industrial mobilization to Secretary of Commerce Sawyer. Sawyer has certain powers with respect to the allocation of materials—he has handed these over to W. H. Harrison as new director of the National Production Authority established within the Commerce Department—but the top boss under Truman is Symington.

Sawyer believes profoundly in "voluntary" controls exercised by business men. Unfortunately, unless a peace agreement should be reached with Russia which would

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check large-scale American mobilization, voluntary controls will not be enough. Somebody is going to be hurt when the military, the automobile companies, radio and television producers, and farm-equipment manufacturers begin to compete for steel, lumber, copper, rubber, and dozens of other basic materials. A thirty or forty billion dollar armament program will require carefully prescribed policies which can and will be enforced.

Symington's authority under Mr. Truman's executive order is very broad. He can lay down policy directives with the President's approval; he is to make sure that the Commerce Department, as well as all other agencies, follows the directives; he is to decide inter-agency "issues"—that is, disputes—"which otherwise would require the attention of the President." If the army wants steel for tanks and guns, and Secretary of the Interior Chapman wants steel for a fuel pipe line, and Secretary of Agriculture Brannan wants steel for farm machinery, Symington's job is to "umpire" the conflict.

Before Louis Johnson's memory fades, it should in fairness be said that the surface toughness which won him enemies may have been needed to enforce advances toward unification of the armed services. Moreover, less than two years ago the Hoover Commission reported that the demands of the military for arms and men were outrageous and warmly praised the President for cutting expenditures down to an annual total of $15,000,000,000. Johnson's "economy" policy was Truman's policy and was approved not only by the Hoover Commission but by the vast majority of Congressmen, both Republicans and Democrats. There was much talk about the need for economic stability as well as military preparedness; generals and statesmen exchanged assurances that the country could be ruined by overspending even as by defeat in war. Johnson alone is not to blame for the fact that only by stretching our available resources to the limit could we put four undermanned divisions in Korea.

General Marshall

Marshall's return to the Cabinet as Johnson's successor is nevertheless generally welcomed by the agencies, both military and civilian, that must now wage war and hasten mobilization. Whether a civilian could not have been found for the post is a legitimate question. But Marshall's organizing abilities, his patriotism, his devotion to duty are widely recognized, and it is a relief to the Department of State, the National Security Resources Board, and other key groups that the ambitious, blustering Johnson has departed.

China: Banquo's Ghost

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Lake Success, September 16

LIKE Banquo's ghost, the Chinese nation as it exists today on the mainland of Asia has been hovering in the background of all discussions at Lake Success. When Dr. T. F. Tsiang, the very able representative of the Nationalist government, venomously spits out the phrase "puppet regime," one might almost imagine that the Peking authorities were in uneasy exile on some island, while Chiang Kai-shek held undisputed control of Chinese territory. When Warren R. Austin urges that Peking's complaint about the alleged bombing of Manchurian soil should be investigated on the spot by a commission composed of India and Sweden, both of which have diplomatic representatives at Peking, but that the Communist regime should not be invited to the Security Council table for discussion of its complaint, one cannot help thinking that the United States may be just as much in an "Alice in Wonderland" state of mind about China as Russia is about Korea.

How long will the pretense be kept up that the Peking regime must not speak in international affairs on behalf of China? Does a period of sixteen or more years of non-recognition by the United States lie ahead, as in the case of the Soviet government between 1917 and 1933? Even assuming that from Washington's point of view non-recognition is desirable on moral grounds and expedient because of domestic political considerations, how effective will it prove in altering the existing situation? American non-recognition probably consolidated Soviet rule in Russia instead of weakening it, and did not by one whit affect Japan's control of Manchukuo.

The two votes taken in the Security Council—on September 8, as to whether Russia's proposal to invite Peking representatives for discussion of the Manchurian bombing should take precedence over the American proposal for an Indian-Swedish commission, and on September 11, as to whether Peking should actually be invited—indicated that if the question of admitting the Communist regime to the United Nations comes up for debate, the result will probably be unfavorable. Cuba, Ecuador, and Egypt cannot at this time be counted on to support admission, and Dr. Tsiang has threatened to use the veto to block such action. Dean Acheson has repeatedly declared that this country will not vote for ad-

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mission of Peking, but neither will it veto it. If this line-up does not change, there will be only six votes—one short of the necessary number—in favor of bringing Communist China into the United Nations; and in any case the Nationalist veto could bar the way. Communist China's admission, however, will undoubtedly come up in the U. N. General Assembly as soon as it has convened at Flushing Meadow on September 19.

Of the six Security Council members which on September 11 voted to invite Peking representatives—Britain, France, India, Norway, the U. S. S. R., and Yugoslavia—five had made their position clear months ago, when they recognized the new regime. The Indians believe that, contrary to the prevalent view in the United States, the Chinese Communists are not mere stooges of the U. S. S. R., and that, moreover, the Peking government is by no means entirely Communist. In their opinion, which is based in part at least on reports from India's ambassador to Peking, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, renowned for his knowledge of Chinese affairs, Mao Tse-tung has many non-Communist experts in his administration and has carried out reforms which were long overdue. The Yugoslavs, without committing themselves on the Communist character of the Peking government, are convinced that Mao Tse-tung either now or later can be expected to follow an independent policy in world affairs, and that the best way to facilitate this is to admit his representatives to the U. N. The British have followed their usual policy of promptly recognizing governments which meet accepted international standards.

The new element in the picture is France, which until this summer has been regarded as opposed to the admission of Communist China, in part because of its preoccupation with the future of Indo-China. It is reported, however, that a number of French leaders, among them President Vincent Auriol, a Socialist, have favored voting for Peking but have been deterred by fear of the effect such a decision might have on public opinion in the United States. That this fear was not without basis may be judged from the comments of some American newspapers on the possibility that the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, might press for Communist China's admission to the U. N. at the session of the General Assembly just beginning. The New York *World-Telegram and Sun* on September 12 made the following statement: "If Mr. Acheson tells Mr. Bevin plainly that the United States does not want the question raised at this time, it seems a reasonable assumption that Mr. Bevin will not press the point. American-British relations are under enough strain as it is, without borrowing trouble." One must hope that the section of the Soviet propaganda bureau charged with unearthing examples of "America's relations with its satellites" will not come upon this particular item.

Observers at Lake Success have been of two minds about Moscow's real desires concerning China's admission. Some believe that the Kremlin never intended to have Peking admitted and deliberately brought the question up in terms which would force the United States to refuse, in the hope of thus widening the gap between this country and China while at the same time proving Russia's devotion to the new revolutionary regime. Moscow, so this theory runs, fears that if Peking is admitted it will gradually slip out of the orbit of the U. S. S. R., with or without benefit of Chinese Titoism. Others insist that Moscow is sincere, and would welcome the presence of another great Communist power in the Security Council, where the U. S. S. R. now feels isolated.

If the first theory is correct, it would seem that the United States is making a grave mistake in opposing China's admission. Should the second theory prove sound, the United States may still be on the wrong road in emphasizing the political character of the Peking regime—its communism—as the reason for its rejection. For thereby the Russians are encouraged, in fact justified, in opposing the entrance into the U. N. of countries whose governments are avowedly anti-Communist. At Lake Success it is hoped that the appointment of General George C. Marshall as Secretary of Defense may speed clarification of American policy toward Communist China, at least so far as Peking's position with respect to the U. N. is concerned. In spite of much loose and some criminally irresponsible talk about alleged architects of American policy in the Far East, the fact remains that it was Marshall, on the basis of his personal observations in China, who decided in 1947 that Chiang Kai-shek could not be saved without the expenditure of a military and financial effort which exceeded the capacity of the United States.

[This is the last of Mrs. Dean's reports from Lake Success. She is about to go to India as a delegate to the eleventh conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Lucknow and will send The Nation *one or more articles on India and the conference.]*

No Comment

Some companies are making "artificially high" bids on military contracts, so as not to get them. That's what Pentagon officials say. They advance this reason: the companies don't want to be the first in their industry to pare civilian output.—Item in Business Bulletin of *Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 1950.

The very Congress which is passing these anti-Communist laws is hell-bent to pass an excess-profits tax so that it can "take the profits out of war." Either it does not know that that idea has a clear Marxian base or it does not care.—Editorial in *Wall Street Journal*, September 14, 1950.

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Preview of the U. N. Assembly

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Dublin, September 12

EVERYBODY in Europe is looking toward Flushing Meadow, for the coming General Assembly is expected to be the most exciting and important meeting of the United Nations since San Francisco. The mere size and composition of the Russian delegation arouses interest. Its sixty-seven members are headed by Vishinsky and include Adamszep Arutiunian, the distinguished economic expert. At the recent meeting of the U. N.'s Economic Commission for Europe at Geneva, Arutiunian attracted attention by maintaining firmly that it was possible for the Eastern and Western systems to coexist and that one of the best ways to put an end to the present tension would be to permit increased trade between the antagonistic blocs.

The Russians' decision to attend this fall's Assembly shows that they have recognized their mistake in walking out of the Security Council—if they had not done so, events in Korea might have taken a different course from the beginning. It also shows how quickly and unhesitatingly they change their strategy, not by half-measures, but radically and thoroughly. As I have always insisted, Russian policy is not inelastic like Hitler's, permitting no deviation from the course laid out even when it leads straight to disaster. Among the things that Western leaders have said in recent months one of the most useful in judging the international situation is a remark of Stalin's quoted by Anthony Eden. Once in the early forties, Mr. Eden recalled, Stalin said that Hitler "did not know when it was time to stop." Then he added, "I, on the contrary, know very well when to stop."

Whether this remark will prove prophetically true depends upon the strategy Vishinsky reveals at Flushing Meadow. Though the general inclination is to assume that Russia, faced with the rearmament program of the Atlantic nations plus Germany, will use the Assembly as a tribune for denunciation and propaganda, there are people who think differently. One of the most astute diplomats here told me he expected the Russians to suggest the adjustment of pending issues in Asia through an end to Korean hostilities, withdrawal of the North Koreans to the Thirty-eighth Parallel, free Korean elections, and the admission of Communist China to the United Nations. The ground would thus be prepared for a rapprochement in Europe based on unrestricted trade between East and West. To achieve this, he said, Moscow would have to take the initiative by presenting definite proposals which by their character and form of presentation would counter the so far unchallenged Western theory that it is useless to talk to the Russians. Persons who take the view that Vishinsky is not going to limit himself this time to the role of public prosecutor base their belief on two premises: that this Assembly offers the Kremlin its last chance to break the deadlock, and that Russia is now so superior in military power that it can make concessions without losing face.

But essentially the question of war or peace depends on whether affairs have reached such a stage that not even a sudden change of direction by one of the two contending powers can avert a collision. That is what the worried parliamentarians gathered here in Dublin are asking.

At this thirty-ninth conference of the Interparliamentary Union our Spanish group has caused quite a stir. Catholic diehards have picketed the meetings and addressed strong protests to the President of Ireland, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the chairman of the Irish delegation against "the official reception of Communist persecutors of the church from Spain." As a matter of fact, our delegation contains no Communists, and there are scarcely any in the other groups, except for the Yugoslav contingent. Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Bulgaria withdrew from the Union after their peace resolution was rejected at last year's meeting, and in consequence the Communist members of other parliaments sent no representatives to Dublin.

Officially the two principal subjects of discussion at this year's conference are the revision of unequal treaties and the participation of indigenous populations in deliberative assembles. Actually, on the floor as in the lobbies, the delegates talk chiefly about Korea and the coming meeting of the Assembly. The Irish, of course, have attempted to focus attention on the partition issue, which was introduced in the general debate by Mr. MacBride, Eire's Minister of External Affairs. The local press gave prominence to his statement that Eire would not join the Atlantic or any other pact while a neighboring power guaranteed the integrity of a separate country within Ireland's borders. The other delegations did not get very excited about the Irish-British controversy, though they were interested to hear the famous Mr. de Valera repudiate the agreement fixing the boundary between Ulster and the South which was reached twenty-five years ago by the prime ministers of the three countries concerned. This agreement, he said, was not a free

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MR. DEL VAYO is returning this week from four months in Europe and will now report regularly on activities at the U. N. His articles will replace those of Vera Micheles Dean, who concludes her coverage of the U. N. on page 262.

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agreement, Great Britain having threatened immediate war if it was not signed.

The dispute was one more indication of the obstacles to be surmounted before Europe can be united. The majority of the delegates came directly from Strasbourg and still labor under the sense of frustration induced by the proceedings of the Council of Europe. Some have told me that when the Strasbourg conference opened they considered my doubts about the Council unjustified, but that now they concede I was right in predicting its failure. That is one of the reasons they are looking forward to the U. N. Assembly, hoping against hope for some favorable development.

Rumors abound. One is that six weeks ago in Geneva Mr. Arutiunian, whom I mentioned above, asked the head of the British delegation to take the initiative in getting Communist China on the Security Council. Some persons here believe that India and Britain will favor having Communist China represented in the Assembly. The president of the Indian Parliament, Shri G. V. Maralankar, leader of the Indian group in Dublin, makes no secret of the fact that Nehru is determined to press his mediation proposal, despite its cool reception in American official circles. The Indians are well aware that by taking an independent line on the Korean question their country has made its influence felt at Lake Success and in the capitals of the world. The London *Times* of September 6 said: "India's voice must be heard and heard with respect, as an authentic voice of Asian democracy." The speeches of the Indian delegates at this conference have invariably dealt with two topics—peace and opposition to "new types of colonialism and controlism," a phrase of Nehru's referring to programs of economic aid with strings attached. But peace in Asia comes before everything else.

DELEGATES from other countries agree with the Indians that the most practical step toward peace which can be taken in the next few weeks is to receive the Peking government into the United Nations. This belief prevails among intelligent British conservatives, for whom the Astors' Sunday *Observer* is a spokesman. Last week the *Observer* printed a profile of Chiang Kai-shek which could not have been sharper or more impious if it had been written for *The Nation*. It recalled his lack of balance in recent months and how after hearing of President Truman's election in 1948 he pounded and smashed his radio with his fists. In conclusion the article said: "After so long a career of personal power, culminating in increasing megalomania, and now stung by humiliation and the wish for revenge, it is doubtful whether he can longer estimate the reality of his position." The interest of the English people in the new China is growing rapidly. An official delegation from China, the first since the People's Republic was set up, is expected to arrive in London this month, at the invitation of the British-China Friendship Association.

Eager to further any tendency in the United Nations to end the "conflict dividing the world," the delegates here are considering various revolutionary resolutions. One of them, introduced rather surprisingly by the Dutch, asks the conference and the parliaments which chose its members to take a stand against war of any kind. A more moderate suggestion, made by the octogenarian Count Carton de Wiart who heads the Belgian group, recalls the action taken by the Interparliamentary Council in Nice in 1948 and asks that all the parliaments of the world be urged to work together in a spirit of concord, irrespective of nationality or party.

The compelling motive behind all these moves for peace is the feeling that affairs are reaching a stalemate which can be broken only by war. The men here who view the situation most objectively say to themselves: It is all very well to try to arm ourselves so that by 1953 or 1954 the West will be strong enough to talk to Russia as equal to equal. But if negotiation and not war is our goal, why do we not speak now, at the first opportunity which offers? What guaranty is there that two or three years from now an armed and divided and bankrupt world will be any better able to arrange a peace?

Another constant theme is the problem of Germany, which in one form or another will come up at Flushing Meadow. It is generally accepted that at the current meetings of the Big Three in New York the existing "state of war" will be formally ended, Allied controls drastically relaxed, and the Ruhr again turned into a military arsenal. But everyone is disturbed by reports coming out of Germany of an early nationalist *Blitz*. Korea has given the Germans new grounds for defending the Hitler of yesterday and justifying the Hitler who may appear tomorrow. They pretend now that from 1933 to 1939 and all during the war they were in their hearts not so much pro-Hitler as anti-Bolshevik, that is, they were "premature anti-Communists." Press and radio declare that German atrocities against Polish, Russian, and French civilians and underground fighters may be compared to action taken against North Korean soldiers who infiltrate the United Nations lines dressed as civilians; that many of the Nazis tried and convicted at Nürnberg of plotting aggressive war were actually guilty of nothing more than such preparations as the Western Allies are now engaged in. The Germans evidently plan to appear some day at Lake Success as the champions of international law!

Spain, of course, will also be on the agenda of the Assembly. Pressure is being brought to bear on Great Britain to induce it to change its position on the question of ambassadors. The British vote is considered decisive in the planned new offensive to give Franco a victory in the U. N. which will start the process of drawing him into the Western alliance.

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The Holy Year: Fact and Fiction

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Rome, September

AS THE Holy Year draws to the three-quarter mark, it is appropriate to appraise it in three aspects—as a religious spectacle, as a tourist enterprise, and as a display of power.

As a religious spectacle it is having a huge success, not a little of which is due to the warmly sympathetic treatment accorded by the press and radio of the Western nations. Every major item of pageantry in St. Peter's is transmitted to a huge audience in the outside world with reverence and respect. The impact of such publicity is enormous, and from the Vatican's point of view the result would be worth while even if the pilgrims themselves were disappointed. As far as I can find out, the pilgrims are not disappointed. They are deeply impressed in spite of the fact that from their point of view the pageantry for the most part is badly organized.

Its most interesting feature is the Pope himself. He fits into the ceremonial atmosphere perfectly. His thin ascetic face, his luminous eyes, his kindly smile, his long graceful hands combine to make him a natural idol for the faithful. His reputation for personal piety is unchallenged. The sight of him in robes of white or of scarlet trimmed with gold, with a triple tiara or a white skull cap on his head, waving his hands in graceful benediction from his gestatorial chair, which is borne on the shoulders of two rows of stalwart guards dressed in scarlet uniforms, fulfils every pilgrim's dream. For good measure, at canonization ceremonies the Vatican jeweler carries two extra tiaras, and behind the Pope's chair are fan-bearers with huge Oriental fans.

Although Pius XII is now seventy-five years old and his voice has become rather thin, he is apparently in good health and is standing the strain of the Holy Year with great fortitude. His routine is strenuous. He must see crowds of admirers almost every day, many of them in great "general audiences" in St. Peter's. He makes a short speech of welcome in several languages, essentially the same speech every day, mentioning the name of each group of pilgrims and their home town. He concludes with a few words of moral import and a blessing. His French and German are apparently perfect, his Spanish and Portuguese fair, but his English is so heavily accented that it is difficult to understand.

Of course, the whole machinery of the Holy Year is designed to exalt the Pope as the leader of Christendom. At canonization ceremonies during the public "obediences" the cardinals kiss his hand, the bishops his knee, and the abbots his foot. The recent congress of priests called to study the Holy Shroud in Turin discovered that the portrait on the shroud resembled Pius XII and that the resemblance had a high symbolic value. The Pope's only important encyclical of the Holy Year, "Of Mankind," which he issued on August 21, reaffirmed the exclusive claims of the church to the possession of truth and in a sense reemphasized his own claims to uniqueness in the modern world.

As a tourist enterprise the Holy Year has fallen considerably below expectations. Four Catholic hostels for pilgrims were closed as early as July, and the air lines reported huge block of unclaimed seats even before the war in Korea began. There has been for some time a surplus of apartments in Rome, and the first-class hotels have vacant rooms. Naturally, there is much grumbling among merchants and owners of *pensiones*, who are not making as much money as they anticipated.

The primary failure of the Holy Year as a tourist enterprise has been the disappointing American attendance after the great build-up in the United States. The Vatican is especially sensitive about American reactions because its contributed revenues come chiefly from the United States and it relies greatly upon American support for its foreign policy. Not more than 15,000 Americans had registered by July 10; perhaps 1,000,000 pilgrims had come to Rome, but the overwhelming majority were Italians. It has been unofficially stated that the total now exceeds 2,000,000—not a large quota in a nation which is supposed to have more than 45,000,000 Catholics. Moreover, a very large number of the visitors to Rome are tourists who take advantage of the cheaper transportation rates obtainable by those who register as pilgrims.

AS A display of power through numbers the Holy Year is a success in the newspapers, but it is difficult to estimate the actual size of the crowds that attend Vatican demonstrations. The Vatican radio is extremely bullish on such matters, and the newspapermen here tend to take its figures respectfully. The Vatican has repeatedly asserted that for special events 500,000 of the faithful can and do assemble in St. Peter's Square and the Via della Conciliazione which leads into it. (The claim that Catholic Action could produce half-million crowds on all important occasions undoubtedly had an effect on the

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PAUL BLANSHARD, author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is The Nation's *correspondent in Rome during the Holy Year.*

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1948 election.) Now it appears that the crowds have never contained more than 150,000 persons and that recent accounts are about 80 per cent exaggeration.

Camille Cianfarra of the New York *Times* became impatient with the contradictory reports about the attendance at Vatican functions and decided to measure off St. Peter's Square for himself. He discovered that the square has an area of only about 33,000 square yards, and that even when the entire length of the Via della Conciliazione is included, the maximum standing room for a crowd is 45,000 square yards. If we assume that people are packed three to a square yard on the ground and allow for 5,000 more on the roof tops, the largest possible number at a Vatican demonstration is 140,000. Fortunately for its members, Italian crowds do not commonly press tightly together—one person per square yard is more typical than three. I found that I could move about freely with a camp chair in the two largest outdoor assemblies of the Holy Year, the one on Easter morning and the one on June 24 when Maria Goretti, the Italian girl of eleven who died defending her honor in 1902, was canonized. The exaggeration in estimating the number of people inside St. Peter's is equally obvious—35,000 is the maximum the basilica will hold, whereas the Vatican frequently claims an attendance of 50,000.

The canonization of Maria Goretti was perhaps the most-publicized event in the history of the Vatican. For months before the day Catholic papers carried stories about the coming celebration, and tremendous efforts were made to get girls' schools all over Europe to send delegations. It was the first canonization ever held outdoors and the first ever attended by the mother of the saint. The Catholic Action press reported an advance demand for 185,000 tickets. But though the weather was perfect not more than 75,000 people were present—the Vatican radio said 500,000. Incidentally, no woman was in the papal procession that day or on the day when a French nun was canonized. Homage in heaven does not assure equal rights on earth.

The relatively small number of pilgrims is a reminder of the substantial losses in territory and members the church has suffered since the last Holy Year in 1925. Then Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia were strongholds of Vatican influence, and the church had a sizable following in Rumania and the Ukraine. Now the pilgrims from Eastern Europe are conspicuous by their absence. The church in Rumania has almost disappeared, and in the Ukraine it has gone over, with Soviet encouragement, to another communion. The loss of membership in these two areas alone is measured in millions. Nobody knows what it will be in the whole Soviet bloc, which once claimed 45,000,000 Catholics. The settlement made in Poland last April by the local Catholic hierarchy without previous approval by the Vatican indicates that the threat of national, anti-Vatican Catholic churches is serious.

On the other side of the balance sheet of Catholic power is the greatly increased influence of Catholic political parties in Western Europe. Catholic dictators or Catholic political groups rule or share in the rule of Italy, France, West Germany, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and the Netherlands. But when Catholic power in these nations is analyzed, it is seen to be largely negative power, a defensive fright-reaction against communism. Here in Italy, for example, a large proportion of the people who vote Catholic with the dominant Christian Democrats are not voting so much for the Vatican as against the Kremlin. The Vatican is thriving on anti-communism, and its leaders are shrewd enough to make the anti-Communist gospel a primary theme in the Holy Year.

TWO questions about the Holy Year are often asked by Americans. How successful is the project financially? Are American public funds being used in the enterprise?

It is impossible to answer the first question categorically, because the Vatican is a sealed vault on all financial matters. The Pope is his own treasurer, is responsible to no one, and is under no obligation to report his enormous gifts during the Holy Year or the church's great losses of revenue in Eastern Europe. It is known that the Holy See is Italy's largest single landowner if all its subsidiaries are included, that it has gigantic stockholdings in Italy's corporations, and that American Catholics pay more than half its current contributed income.

As to American public money, E. C. A. funds are not being used directly even for tourism projects, but some Italian counterpart funds, released by virtue of American contributions, have been spent for tourist facilities. Morally they are American funds, and their assignment must have E. C. A. approval. They total about $2,880,000, of which $1,200,000 is an outright grant. Loans and grants from counterpart funds have gone to both Catholic and non-religious organizations for beds and the remodeling of buildings for the accommodation of pilgrims at the agreed maximum rate of $3 a day for bed and three meals. The grants never exceed 25 per cent of the total cost of a tourist project.

Is this use of public funds, technically Italian government funds, a violation of our policy of church-state separation? Possibly, but it has clear economic justification, and it must be remembered that in a country in which the church controls so much of the welfare work it is difficult to apply our church-state principles without impeding eonomic recovery. Even the municipal hospitals here are staffed by Catholic nuns, and no other Italian agencies are so well fitted to provide cheap lodgings for tourists as the religious orders. Moreover, the

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amount of money allotted to Holy Year tourism is only one-eighth of that allotted the private hotel industry.

I am not inclined to be critical of the E. C. A. here so long as it holds out against Christian Democratic pressure for counterpart funds for churches and church schools. Apparently it is standing firm against such demands.

BESIDE THE POINT

[Joseph Wood Krutch, off his own reservation for the time being, has strayed on to another. We are pleased to print his impressions.—R. B. and M. M.]

OUT here the Navajos have been causing the white man a lot of trouble by refusing to die. The smiling Hopis, the placid Papagos, and all the other Arizona Indians are amiably fading away. But the Navajos go right on getting more and more numerous, thus constituting themselves a Problem.

To look at the reservation assigned them you wouldn't think that the Problem could fail to solve itself pretty soon. There is almost no water and almost no vegetation. The Navajos couldn't live if it weren't for the sheep, and the sheep couldn't live if it weren't for the goats, which are smart enough to find for them the pasturage they couldn't find for themselves. But with the goats helping the sheep and the sheep helping the Navajos, far too many of the latter survive malnutrition and tuberculosis. It makes them unpopular even with the other Indians, on whose land they sometimes intrude.

Recently the government has been trying out a New Policy. Perhaps it will work better than the one in effect about a dozen years ago when I first saw the reservation. In any event, it does not seem likely that the new policy will work much worse than the old one. For though the old was devised by a fanatically devoted commissioner who had only the interests of the Indians at heart, they hated it more than any of the other policies with which they had had sad experience. So at least I was told, and from what I saw I am inclined to believe it. Wherever one looked one saw the body of a dead horse rotting on the sand. They had all been shot by order of the kind commissioner because he thought that his charges had too many horses for the land. Undoubtedly he was right. But he might have been, one felt, a little more tactful.

Some day, perhaps, someone will come along who is willing to see them neither as members of an Inferior Race nor as representatives of the Noble Savage but simply as people—which undoubtedly they are. At present there seem to be few even among private citizens who can accept that obvious fact. The Idealizers are fairly numerous, though of course not so numerous as their opposites. But it is apparently hard not to be one or the other, and neither gets along very well with the Problem. The devoted commissioner had a very high notion of what an Indian should be, and he was determined that he would make his Indians live up to it. But the Navajo wanted to be noble according to his own lights. He wanted too many horses because, like other people, he loved conspicuous expenditure. He wanted three wives, not because he is especially amorous but for what seemed to him a sound practical reason.

One wife to look after the sheep, one wife to raise the children, and one wife to weave blankets make a very good economic unit. But the idealistic commissioner could not see it that way. The noble savage is by definition Pure. In fact, one of his chief functions is to set decadent civilization an example in that respect. By definition also Purity and Monogamy are the same thing. Therefore, the Navajos really want to practice monogamy whether they know it or not. I saw no surplus wives rotting in the sun, but it might have come to that in time.

Meanwhile the Navajo pursues his own way more successfully than one might suppose possible. The prospect of assimilation does not interest him, and to the exasperation of many he would rather ride around to ceremonies and dances on one of his too numerous horses than work for the white man. On the other hand, he exasperates the idealists almost as much because, unlike them, he sees no threat to the purity of his culture when he adopts such of the white man's innovations as happen to please him. When he sits on the floor of a trader's store drinking a bottle of orange pop he may look less like a noble savage to some of his white admirers, but he does not feel any less like one, for he continues to follow the customs of his people in everything that really matters. He goes right on building his hogan with the door facing east and calling in the medicine man to make sand pictures when someone is ill. He will drive a broken-down Ford if he can get one but he will also hang a blanket between the front and rear seats if some crisis compels him to transport his mother-in-law. Even a Ford-driving, pop-drinking Indian knows that no man should ever look on a mother-in-law's face.

There are some who maintain that the custom which this belief is used to justify is sufficient proof in itself that the Ancient Wisdom of the Aborigines is no figment of the romantic imagination. Personally, however, I was more impressed by an incident which took place when the order forbidding polygamy first went out. A regional agent received a visit from the head of a family who brought his three wives. After the usual half-hour silence the husband spoke up: "They tell me Uncle Sam say I can keep only one wife." "Right," said the agent. Another interval of fifteen minutes. "O. K.," said the Navajo at last, "but you say which." J. W. K.

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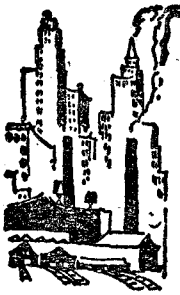

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Bankers' Inflation

AN INSTITUTIONAL advertisement of the Republic Steel Corporation currently appearing in a number of newspapers declares:

> For truly vital needs we *must* spend freely . . . with no thought but final victory. All the more reason, then, to *stop the leaks of needless and wasteful spending.* Economy need not deprive us of essential services. In fact, it has been estimated that we can save four to five billion dollars a year just by cutting out the overlapping of governmental departments.

This is not, of course, an entirely original thought; indeed, it is one given daily utterance by editorial writers, business leaders, and some politicians. The chief force propelling us toward uncontrolled inflation, we are constantly told, is the government's deficit: the country's most urgent need is the drastic trimming of expenditure for civilian purposes.

If I take issue with these arguments, no one, I trust, will accuse me of advocating public extravagance. Actually, as some of my readers may remember, I adopted a critical attitude toward deficit financing long before the Korean crisis, believing that at a time of general prosperity we should seek to achieve a budgetary surplus.

In the present crisis I strongly favor a pay-as-we-go policy and believe that in shaping it we should consider all possible economies as well as drastically higher taxes. But we cannot cut expenditure by "four to five billion dollars"—20 per cent or more of the total, excluding defense, debt interest, and pensions—without the kind of blind hacking with a blunt ax that would jeopardize our chances of achieving maximum economic mobilization. It would be folly, for instance, to retard public-power programs in the name of economy if the result were the hindrance of defense production by power shortages. It would be absurd to inhibit movements of workers to areas where essential industries are seeking more man-power by cutting down funds for housing.

Apart from such considerations, the suggestion that public extravagance is, at this moment, the main source of inflationary potential is an oversimplification that is diverting attention from other dangers. For inflation takes many shapes and usually has multiple causes. A balanced budget is no sure preventive, as we found out in 1928-29.

Certainly we cannot ascribe the upward bound of prices in the last three months solely to excess purchasing power created by uncovered government expenditure. Actually in this period the Treasury's cash outgo exceeded cash income by only $162 million, an insignificant amount in relation to a gross national income in the same three months of upward of $60 billion. The source of the great surge of buying that between June 23 and September 9 raised the B. L. S. general index of basic commodities by 21½ per cent was not public but private extravagance. It was the blind determination of millions of individual consumers and business men to safeguard themselves against anticipated shortages that created such an unprecedented demand for goods—a demand made effective by the bankers' shortsighted if profitable liberality in extending credit.

In July alone, consumer instalment credit, which since the end of 1945 had been growing at the rate of about $3 billion annually, was increased by no less than $660 million, and I suspect that when the August returns become available they will show an even greater expansion. At the same time there has been a sharp rise in home-mortgage debt, which even before the Korean war broke out had been advancing at a dizzy pace. Finally, we find that in the past two months numerous consumers, in addition to pledging future income to purchase durable goods, have been drawing on past savings for the same purpose, so that in July E-bond redemptions exceeded new sales by $178 million.

Private business enterprises catering to the civilian market have been acting in a similar way with similar motives. There has been a scramble to buy materials, to order new equipment, and to place contracts for new plants and offices, a scramble assisted by the easy availability of bank credit. As a result the loans and investments—other than in federal securities—of Federal Reserve member banks in leading cities increased by $1.7 billion between the end of June and the middle of August.

What is being done to curb this orgy of credit inflation? The new Defense Production Act gave the President powers to control some forms of credit, and immediately it became law the Federal Reserve Board issued regulations providing for minimum down payments in instalment transactions and maximum repayment periods. Presumably action to reduce the volume of new real-estate credit, already somewhat restricted by Presidential order so far as federally insured mortgages are concerned, will follow as soon as the Federal Reserve Board reaches agreement with the Housing and Home Finance Authority.

However, if overexpansion of credit is to be ended, steps must also be taken to restrict mortgages on non-residential real estate and to curb general business borrowing, and it is doubtful whether the Federal Reserve Board has sufficient authority for this purpose. It could, and perhaps should, stiffen member-bank reserve requirements even though the Treasury may oppose this step as an obstacle to its own borrowing and refinancing operations. It can exhort bank officials—and has done so—not "to make loans . . . which might be used for speculative purposes or otherwise interfere with defense requirements." But it is uncertain how far bankers are prepared to practice voluntary selectivity in loan-making of a kind that would force them to refuse accommodation to good customers offering good security. If, therefore, the Federal Reserve authorities are to limit the total volume of credit, which is essential if gathering inflationary forces are to be checked, they must be given power to enforce a priority system of bank lending. For only then will they be able to curb speculative borrowing and to insure adequate financial facilities for defense and other necessary production.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Soviet Reality

SOVIET POLITICS: THE DILEMMA OF POWER. By Barrington Moore, Jr. Harvard University Press, $6.

WE ARE only beginning to appreciate that the real tragedy of our age lies in the fact that the Marxist alternative to the injustices of our society should have generated cruelties and injustices so much worse than those which Marxism challenged, and should nevertheless be able to gain the devotion of millions of desperate people in Europe and particularly in Asia upon the basis of the original dream, as if the dream had not turned into a nightmare. Most of our polemic against communism sounds like something left over from the propaganda warfare against Nazism. We think we are making the ultimate condemnation of communism if we insist that its totalitarianism is identical with that of Nazism. Thereby we obscure its greater danger, which is derived from the fact that it is a corruption of a utopian dream and does not stem from the pure moral cynicism which the Nazis avowed.

Professor Barrington Moore of the Harvard Russian Research Center has rendered a great service in tracing with care and precision the successive historical steps by which the original dream was transmuted into present realities. "The central questions asked in this book," he writes, "are two: first, which of the pre-revolutionary Bolshevik ideas have been put into effect in the Soviet Union, which set aside, and why? Second, what can we learn from historical experience about the role of ideas in general?" He comes to the conclusion that the only original objective realized with little qualification is that of the socialization of property. But this was intended by the early Marxists to be a means to the further end of a free and classless society, which has not been realized. Mr. Moore gives the record somewhat as follows:

With reference to the problem of democracy and dictatorship the Marxist dream was of a provisional dictatorship of the proletariat which together with the whole state would wither away once all the foes of the new order had been destroyed. It turned out otherwise. First, historical exigencies forced Lenin to exclude non-Communist elements from the seats of power and to establish the dictatorship of a party. Second, Lenin's doctrine of "democratic centralism" allowed the democratic process to operate in making decisions but insisted upon unity of action in implementing the decision. Gradually criticism of decisions taken became impossible, and the oligarchy learned how to deflect criticism from itself by permitting rigorous criticism of minor bureaucrats and detailed administrative procedures. Third, the Politbureau, theoretically under the authority of the Central Committee and originally improvised to make hurried decisions in critical war situations, gradually became the supreme authority, and its responsibility to the Central Committee became a fiction. Fourth, the cult of the "leader" developed. Lenin's authority could be challenged but his prestige was immense. Upon this foundation Stalin built the authority of one who has all the instruments of power in his hand. "The taming of the rank and file was largely completed by 1925," writes Mr. Moore. "From 1925 onward, public criticism by the rank and file was directed toward the way in which policies were executed and practically never toward policy itself."

In analyzing Soviet foreign policy, Mr. Moore shows how the impulse toward world revolution is compounded at various periods in various ways with the power politics of a state and nation seeking security in a hostile world. His careful analysis refutes the theories of those who argue that Russian policy is "nothing but" Russian imperialism using Communist slogans cynically. This charge incidentally is not as damaging as it is intended to be. An honest fanatic may be much more dangerous than a cynic. Mr. Moore, rightly I think, believes that "cynical manipulation of the official ideology" is comparatively rare. But a cynical use of symbols which are no longer believed in must not be confused with the cynicism which is allowed and enjoined within terms of the belief. "There is nothing un-Leninist in the use of deception for political purposes," declares Mr. Moore.

Mr. Moore's careful analysis of the growth of inequality and of the problem of incentives in a Socialist economy is of special value. So is his charting of the Soviet policy toward agriculture and the peasants, and his weighing of Stalin's claim that class conflicts have been eliminated in the Soviet Union. In the latter case a tyrannical state which has liquidated all subordinate forms of social power glorifies the resulting social peace as identical with the uncoerced social peace of the original dream.

One criticism of this excellent and useful historical study may be justified. Mr. Moore makes no real distinction between the adjustments which a utopian creed must make to the perennial factors in man's social life which it had disregarded—such as functional inequality, the family, the necessity of the incentive of self-interest—and the "adjustments" which lead to a complete corruption of its original promise and purpose. Democratic socialism has also adapted itself to these factors, but the adaptations have moved in the direction of democracy while communism has moved away from it.

It is thus not adequate to declare, as Mr. Moore does, that "the Bolshevik experience reveals the need for inequalities of power in an industrial society. At the same time it reveals the need for a functional division of labor and for inequalities of reward." Such a statement obscures the difference between the inevitable inequalities of reward and functional division of labor which must appear in any society and the monstrous inequalities of power which have developed in the Soviet Union. In other words, the problem is not merely how far an "ideal" can change the institutions of a society, but how an erroneous analysis of the social and human situation may create a tyranny when its original proponents intended it to achieve an anarchistic millennium.

If one assumes erroneously that a so-

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cial institution, such as property, is the sole cause of selfishness in a society; and if in addition one assumes that economic power resides altogether in the power of ownership, one naturally expects a utopia as the consequence of the process of socialization. One also naturally achieves the opposite of what is intended, because one creates an oligarchy which combines all political and economic power in its hands and places no checks upon this oligarchy because in theory its interests are identical with those of the total community. No independent centers of power are allowed, because in theory all men have an equal claim upon the socialized property, while in fact a small élite which holds the instruments of power can negate every claim and stifle every competition of claims and counter-claims.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The New History

FROM VERSAILLES TO THE NEW DEAL. By Harold U. Faulkner. Yale University Press. $6.

THE ERA OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. By Denis W. Brogan. Yale University Press. $6.

WAR FOR THE WORLD. By Fletcher Pratt. Yale University Press. $6.

THE UNITED STATES IN A CHAOTIC WORLD. By Allan Nevins. Yale University Press. $6.

THE NEW DEAL AND WORLD AFFAIRS. By Allan Nevins. Yale University Press. $6.

THE handsome covers that confine each one of the five most recent additions to the Chronicles of America Series pay due tribute to what is probably the best history being written today. General Editor Allan Nevins has enlisted three skilful scholars who collaborate with him in exploiting prodigious stocks of detailed information to reconstruct that narrow slice of the American past which fills the enormous gap between Versailles and Hiroshima. The books are well written, balanced, accurate, and comprehensive; the authors clear, objective, reasonable, and good-humored. Mr. Nevins himself in two volumes, "The United States in a Chaotic World" and "The New Deal in World Affairs," summarizes America's recent foreign policy. Dextrously he climbs in and out of the tangled jungle of Reparations, Neutrality, Lend-Lease, and International Organization. Patiently he recounts the dull transition from Dollar Diplomacy to Good Neighbor Policy. He ably indicates the various phases in the continuing tradition of the Open Door for China. His main theme, that after missing the opportunity of Versailles the United States moved to take a responsible part in the politics of one world, is smoothly demonstrated.

Similarly well-defined themes inform Harold Faulkner's "From Versailles to the New Deal" and Denis Brogan's "The Era of Franklin D. Roosevelt." Mr. Faulkner sees the twenties as a joy ride to the end of an era. The Mellon program of low taxes, low wages, low farm incomes, and little government activity except in support of business induced industrial expansion and consolidation of ownership but only a dubious prosperity. By 1930 Hoover had tacitly admitted the partial failure of his predecessor's artful inactivity, and Hoover's Presidency, though bare of fundamental reform, represents an intermission.

The final act of the drama is the New Deal, and the political story of these years is brilliantly told by the amazingly well-informed British historian Denis Brogan. In what is possibly an effort to avoid the common European idolization, Brogan is too restrained in his admiration for F. D. R. But his judgment that the New Deal was not a radical structural reform precluding either depression or recovery is indisputably accurate, and his suggestion that the "basic thing it had done was to keep alive in the heart of the average American the faith that this was still the last best hope of earth" contains perhaps all that can now be said about the effects of the New Deal.

To some extent Mr. Brogan's contention is supported by Fletcher Pratt, who in his final pages sees victory in the war for the world as a technological success achieved by the integrated efficiency of an American industrial and military planning so highly coordinated that it "brought something new to the whole science and art of war." In general, however, Mr. Pratt avoids such penultimate considerations, confining his efforts to a spare, synoptic account of over-all strategy as it might have

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been analyzed by a roving genius. The retrospective genius in this case has a regrettable weakness for the navy, and though he rightfully appraises Eisenhower's 1944 summer campaign "as one of the greatest in military history," he is too much drawn to the Pacific and the "fast carriers" that are always "running the slot" and "clearing their decks." Mr. Pratt underestimates the effect of strategic bombing on cutting down German air power; he discounts the B-29 and is somewhat embarrassed by the atom bomb. Nevertheless, his book is excellent.

It is not, however, exciting. And this failing explains what in this quarter represents a deep dissatisfaction with all five books. Emotionally they are unequal to their subject matter. The tension, bewilderment, and thrill of momentously poised and passionately misunderstood episode and issue are absent. Hate, hopelessness, and hesitation are too objectively "understood," too hastily absorbed into a too lightly assumed march from bad to good, Harding to Roosevelt, depression to prosperity, isolation to cooperation. All the sting has been salved by the rhetoric of the modern version.

Now the new history is not only, as Carl Becker once said, an old story, it is always the same story. With Grimm and Robinson the new historian feels that contemporary history is dominated by trivial detail. With Carlyle and Voltaire he broadens the area of concentration to show the importance of the neglected. With Ranke and Thucydides he increases the impact of fact. More significantly, with Diderot and St. Augustine he imports philosophy, thereby informing the episodic and connecting the remote. In all ways he inhibits the easy glide. He hardens the particular and intensifies the moment by building them into the very structure of the universe.

Nowhere does such seriousness penetrate the smooth surface of the Chronicles of America series. The authors are relaxed and confident, seemingly unaware of complexity and doubt. They are not often wrong, but one feels that they have not paid the price that entitles them to be right. Mr. Nevins, for example, employs such simple categories. A man is "able," "upright," "national-minded" or "international-minded," "liberal" or "conservative." As if such nets could ever catch a Borah, who was all things at once! For the other three historians, events just happen. Mr. Faulkner treats business cycles as self-contained magical systems operating automatically in a way that everyone understands. Mr. Brogan sees Hoover's failure in 1931 as bad luck, the N. R. A. as "a case of jitters," the Republican repudiation of economic controls as "natural." Mr. Pratt regards military strategy as a systematized code of received doctrine that generals and admirals manipulate with precise calculation. In all five books there is an extreme emphasis on politics and important people.

The point, of course, is not that business cycles, luck, military strategy, and important people don't figure in the historical process but rather that they figure deeply. They are not utility infielders to be moved at the historian's discretion. They cannot, in fact, be moved, or even considered apart, for they operate in conjunction with the ponderous rest. They too are rooted in the historical process. Their decisiveness not only depends, it positively teeters. In short, they mean something, and it is precisely this something that Mr. Nevins and his fellow-historians scout. Their history is assuredly good, but the men and women of our time deserve better.

JOSEPH KRAFT

17 IMPORTANT BOOKLETS BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

Bertrand Russell, the distinguished essayist, philosopher, mathematician, logician and Freethinker, recently said he enjoyed writing booklets for E. Haldeman-Julius because he's given the fullest freedom of expression. In fact, it's only in essays written for Haldeman-Julius that Mr. Russell can give circulation to the mind-liberating thoughts he feels should be made known to the average person. In the 17 booklets listed below, Mr. Russell offers the literate a feast of reason, information, logic, wit and rollicking humor.

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Some Recent Fiction

IN A HARBOUR GREEN. By Benedict Kiely. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

THE GRASS IS SINGING. By Doris Lessing. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $3.

REPRISAL. By Arthur Gordon. Simon and Schuster. $3.

THE THOUSAND DEATHS OF MR. SMALL. By Gerald Kersh. Doubleday and Company. $3.50.

A BURNT CHILD. By Stig Dagerman. William Morrow and Company. $3.

THE DARK STRANGER. By Julien Gracq. New Directions. $2.50.

THE new fiction this summer and early fall is no more disappointing than foresight had made out. Except for Alberto Moravia's "Two Adolescents" (reviewed in *The Nation*, August 5) and William Sansom's "South," short stories which I shall discuss next week, nothing has come my way which would bear rereading or even remembering. (There *have* been important reprints, but of these some other time.)

Problems and local color are the basic ingredients. Sometimes one is able to see the local color in the process of being too liberally "added," as the young man in Miss Compton-Burnett's novel revised his essays to add the charm. Sometimes, quite as much as the problem, local color too clearly reveals itself as an excuse for the act of writing; geography and fiction, like sociology and fiction, have been stirred up in the mind of the maker and served up as highly nutritious—"good for you." These six novels are at least unpretentious—"The Dark Stranger" excepted. At least they are sincere without calling attention to their sincerity. Obviously serious, too, they suffer from their obvious and easy virtues, from being competently and superficially put together, more competently in this sense than, say, "Wuthering Heights," since each carefully avoids any real stirring up of the pot it so deftly skims.

"In a Harbour Green" is an amiable novel—with some sharp edges—about family life among middle-class Catholics in an Ulster town. The background is excellent. The plot is excessively neat, and everything, in spite of woes requisite to such chronicles, ends too well.

"The Grass Is Singing," a first novel, abounds in local color—a South African farm—but does examine carefully the eclipse of a dim soul, a townswoman whom a bad marriage and years in the veldt drive to madness and death. Mrs. Lessing is preoccupied with the racial problem, but her rather pat analyses do not, fortunately, obscure the disintegration of her central figure. The prose is unadorned; the book is too long for its subject—at least as Mrs. Lessing has conceived it.

"Reprisal," which is also a first novel, is directly focused on the racial problem in a Southern town. This is strictly a problem novel, neatly crowded with violence and with gesticulations (successful) toward book-club tastes: the love-making, for example, is banal, and, not content with one problem, Mr. Gordon uses as a sub-plot the sexual adjustment of the mutilated veteran. But he is readable—with the top of the mind—and what he says about Negro-white relations sounds entirely wise.

"The Thousand Deaths of Mr. Small" will delight the clique which adores Gerald Kersh. When the male characters are not wholly absorbed in hating the female characters, this long family chronicle of lower-middle-class London Jewry is quite funny. Mr. Kersh has no compassion, but he does have total recall, transcribing, like a Jewish James Farrell but without Farrell's passion, the amusing story of the older generation and the dull misadventures of his lugubrious hero.

"A Burnt Child," which introduces the Swedish novelist Stig Dagerman to American readers, is a detailed account of a father-son relationship complicated by the death of a loved mother who was also an unloved wife and by the father's marriage to a woman with whom the son has an affair because she reminds him of his mother and because his father wants her. Dagerman's survey of this rough terrain is never sharp. His unhackneyed perceptions, however, make his outsized mother's boy almost bearable.

"The Dark Stranger" is pretentious. Conceived in a prose which, in translation, reads like an overdressed recension of the later Henry James, it never justifies the involutions of sentences in which, frequently, the syntax breaks down. Gracq is so concerned with pounding home the shattering impact of his sinister Allan, a sawdust Stavrogin, on a group of presumably intelligent people in a Breton watering-place that he does not get around to making it seem likely that it all could have happened. The background—local color again—is good, even if it only brings to mind the perfection of Proust's Balbec.

ERNEST JONES

Films

MANNY FARBER

"SUNSET BOULEVARD"—the story of Hollywood movies draped on a depressing sex affair—is an uncompromising study of American decadence displaying a sad, worn, methodical beauty few films have had since the late twenties. Its creators—pseudo-sophisticated Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder, a mean director with telescopic eyes—are dispassionate observers rather than artists who dig inside their characters, and they make the melodrama even shallower by top-casting it with the super-

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ficial Gloria Swanson. My guess, though, is that this contrived but essentially uncorrupted journalism will live longer than a "great human" job like "The Bicycle Thief," a film that hides the worst type of cheating sentimentality beneath its "untouched" surface.

The story, parading an unadmirable hero (William Holden) through ugly affairs with his best friend's fiancee (Nancy Olson) and a rich neurotic of fifty (Swanson), amounts to morbid liaison between the "talkie" and silent film world, with Swanson doing a lot of ear-bending with a voice like a hollow stone wall, while Holden does an unemphatic version of the best silent-film pantomime. The tragedy inherent in his gigolo setup with the ex-star is largely muffed because the Brackett-Wilder combination—vague about the sunset period of an actress's life—entwines Holden with a cliché of the frustrated middle-aged artiste and drenches them both in gimmicks and weird atmosphere. Holden occasionally escapes into a more accurately observed world of young Hollywood talent, before the Swanson character clobbers him with three incredibly well-placed bullets which skilfully nudge him to his final floating place, the swimming pool recently dredged for the body of Alan Ladd, the late star of "Gatsby."

The cold, mean "Sunset Boulevard"—a beautiful title, though I suspect it was shot on another boulevard—is further proof of the resurgence of art in the Hollywood of super-craftsmen with insuperable taste. American film makers have suddenly learned how to make movies work as plastically as Mondrian paintings, using bizarre means and gaucherie, with an eye always on the abstract vitality produced by changing pace, working a choppy sentence against a serene image, extravagant acting against quiet. In this gimmick-ridden "Sunset" a corpse talks. The improbability bothers me less than the fact that he over-talks, explaining action—when Holden is delicately beached by the cops—that explains itself with a morbid realism about American scene. But his lines—spoken with a nice, trapped, Midwestern twang—work as wise-guy counterpoint to scene, building up each audience perception like a good tailgate trombonist. Study the silent close-up of Holden being needled by a lecherous clerk, and you must respect skill that compresses so much of the kept man's malaise into a fraudulent secondary bit. This scene, with its lingering focus on a nauseated countenance, is a small horror movie that not only starts with an improbable, hammy cruelty by the clerk but uses it to magnify Holden's unhighlighted anguish. The upsetting fact about craftsmanship that always finds a way to out-maneuver criticism is that it is putting movies beyond the tastes of an audience that heretofore has judged films for elements—morality, sociology, message—no longer primary in such form-conscious art.

Save for one devilish axis, this would be a stiff, obsessively detailed record of corruption. Holden is one of the most quietly charming hard-luck guys a movie ever watched for his pin-point reactions, which give the film its endless silent perceptions of the way an average studio worker thinks, moves, worries, day-dreams. As the murdered narrator, he spreads a dense poolroom pallor over the imagery (his lines operate like silent film titles), but the Hollywood tone of his tight gestures and pantomime—the bound-in floridity, jumpiness, and showy crispness—is what gives this movie its virulent snap. The load is entirely upon him because the other portraits, while blistering, run from good comic strip (Fred Clark's safe-playing producer) through soggy urbanity (DeMille playing himself) to stereotyped abandon (Swanson).

The movie is stultified by spectacle, novelistic development, and a slow dismemberment of the human beings that are strictly from Von Stroheim's day. It is hard to find any logic or life in Swanson's grotesque because the director is too busy building baroque furniture for both her and her ménage. The illogicality of her mausoleum-like mansion, moldering outside while one butler keeps the inside jungle of rococo spotless, is less stultifying than the eclectic worship of forebodingly cluttered shots and dated insights about contaminated life. Where John Huston cuts a face into a mosaic of analytic shots, "Sunset," without any short cuts, standoffishly views a butler descending eighty stairs, crossing acres of beefy carpet, to open a door. Just as laborious and frightful is the old single-alley focus on character. Save for one poignant, relaxed scene in

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bed, Swanson stays exactly as directed, and very like Theda Bara, within a nasty stereotype: she sinks talon-like fingers in her lover's arm, telephones his other girl with a voice dripping demoniac evil, piles up straight gestures and exclamations that are the stock notions of the undersexed neurotic. This dated technique would sink the movie under minutiae if Wilder's inveterate meanness didn't turn every shot into a shocking, mad, controlled chewing of assorted twentieth-century cuds.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AMONG recent chamber-music records (played on my limited-range machine in the country) are an Allegro (AL 62) with Mozart's fine Quartet K. 370 for oboe and strings and his Quintet K. 407 for horn and strings—the latter a work I don't recall hearing before, with a charming first movement and a beautiful slow movement. In the performances the strings—especially the all-important first violin—are not of the same high caliber as the solo winds, Ralph Gomberg, oboe, and John Barrows, horn.

On another Allegro record (AL 40) are a good early work of Beethoven, his Piano Trio Opus 1 No. 3, and the seldom-played Trio Opus 121A subtitled Ten Variations on "Ich bin der Schneider Kakadu." The latter piece begins impressively with a slow introduction, and ends impressively with a slow variation in minor and an elaborate concluding section, but is unimpressive in-between with a number of variations that are mechanical and obvious. The performances by the Alma Trio are outstandingly good; surfaces are poor.

We have already several recordings of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2 for violin and piano; and it is therefore regrettable that London has issued here still another performance by Max Rostal and Franz Osborn, instead of giving us the performance (issued in England) of the more distinguished but less played and recorded Opus 96 by these two excellent musicians who play superbly together. One flaw in their performance of Opus 30 No. 2 is the lingering over, and distending of, phrases in the opening section of the slow movement. And another thing that is regrettable is the combining of this work, on the one record (LLP 162), not only with the engaging little Beethoven Rondo in G but with a characteristic pretentiously empty *Sonatensatz* by Brahms. The recorded sound of the performances is remarkably beautiful.

Allegro offers another pretentiously empty work of Brahms, the Piano Trio Opus 87, excellently played by the Alma Trio (AL 49). Surfaces are audible; and the record break occurs in the course of the slow movement.

London has issued Dvorak's Quintet Opus 81 for piano and strings (LLP 202)—the first movement uninteresting, the second more attractively melodious but too long, the scherzo and finale charming. The Chigi Quintet's performance is very good.

Though it has lovely moments, mostly in the second movement, Franck's Quintet for piano and strings also has the defects of most of his large-scale works—the inflation of feeling, substance, structure, the endless repetitions of what can least stand repetition. The Chigi Quintet's performance on a London record (LLP 201) is good.

Stravinsky's Duo Concertant, which Szigeti and Stravinsky play on a Columbia record, is an expertly contrived but, for me, unattractive piece. With it on the record are Stravinsky's Pastorale, which I like no better now than when I heard it on 78, and, inappropriately, Bloch's "Bal Shem," which has some impressive Blochian declamation superbly played by Szigeti.

There are good movements in Handel's Sonata No. 3 in G for flute and continuo and Sonata in B flat for flute, oboe, and continuo, and some of the Sonata in E minor for two flutes is engagingly lively; but the Sonata No. 5 in F for flute and continuo is routine and dull. All are stolidly performed on an Allegro record (AL 59) by Philip Kaplan and Lois Schaefer, flutists, John Holmes, oboist, Erwin Bodky, harpsichordist, and Samuel Mayes, cellist.

And Bach's Sonata No. 2 in E flat for flute, harpsichord, and continuo and his Sonata in G for two flutes and continuo, mostly dull music, are performed by the same artists in the same way on another Allegro record (AL 44).

Letters to the Editors

Nazi Assets in Switzerland

Dear Sirs: The quadripartite conference of France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Switzerland, convened by the Swiss government on June 22, 1950, for the purpose of solving the problem of German external assets in Switzerland, was canceled in July by the State Department because of Switzerland's last-minute imposition of a condition which the United States could not accept. Press dispatches characterized the Swiss behavior as an insult to the United States.

Five years have passed since the signing of the Swiss-Allied agreement concerning liquidation of German assets in Switzerland. For five years the people of the United States have been of the belief that one of the major objectives of the Allied governments was the destruction of the financial power of the German cartels, the elimination of their grip on the economic life of Germany's neighbors, and the restitution of the wealth looted by the Nazis to its rightful owners. Certainly the United States should not now be diverted from this objective by a breach of the niceties of international diplomacy. The disagreement between Berne and Washington, however, is not solely a matter of protocol; it is caused by the Swiss government's failure to carry out its international obligations, its refusal to honor a solemn agreement entered into on May 25, 1946.

This agreement allowed the government of Switzerland to retain 50 per cent of the German assets in that country; the Allies were to receive only $58,000,000 of the gold seized by the Nazis in the occupied countries. Furthermore, the Allies were not given a determining voice in the investigation of the real extent of the hidden German assets in Switzerland. Excluded from investigation were thousands of Germans who resided in Switzerland and other neutral countries prior to September 1, 1939, but who, nevertheless, represented Nazi industrial interests and contributed to the building up of the German war machine.

This agreement was utterly unrealistic for a number of reasons. (1) The $58,000,000 which the Swiss consented to return to the Allies represented less than 10 per cent of the total amount of gold looted by the Nazis and channeled

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FALL BOOK NUMBER

- Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on October 14.
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through Switzerland. (2) The Allied nations were deprived of funds badly needed to rebuild their damaged industries. (3) The agreement provided the Germans with an exceptional opportunity to recoup their war losses and rebuild their war potential, since it exempted the agents and dummies of major German corporations, such as I. G. Farben, Krupp, Thyssen, Robert Bosch, Siemens, and others. (4) The Allies were entirely dependent on the Swiss for the determination of what constitutes a German asset. (It was well known that ever since World War I Switzerland had been a haven for German capital and cartels.)

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the Swiss government's present intransigence is the fact that under the agreement of May 25, 1946, "the Allied governments were to draw from the Swiss government immediately up to 50,000,000 Swiss francs of the proceeds of the liquidation of the German property against their share thereof." These funds were to go to the International Refugee Organization for the benefit of the victims of the Nazis. Up to the present, only 20,000,000 francs have been handed over by the Swiss.

The available facts indicate that the Swiss have employed every means at their disposal to obstruct the implementation of the agreement. It is also clear that the Swiss signed the agreement only because they "feared that the United States would not unblock Swiss assets in the United States and would continue the black-listing of Swiss firms" (New York *Times*, July 13, 1948). In the meantime Swiss assets have been unblocked and the black-listing has been lifted. The question now is how long the Swiss can have their cake and eat it too.

The Swiss consider themselves a humane people. How, then, can they refuse to place at the disposal of the refugee organizations the 30,000,000 francs which they still owe under the original agreement? The Swiss pride themselves on being one of the first democracies. Would they not contribute to the strengthening of democracy by working together with the signatory powers to ferret out the hidden German assets and to prevent the Germans from making use of their loot? Is it not the duty of a real democracy to keep its pledges to another democracy?

C. MONTEITH GILPIN, Secretary,
Society for the Prevention
of World War III

New York, September 14

Why Fight China?

Dear Sirs: I'm all for police action in Korea, but what is our Seventh Fleet doing defending Formosa?

I'm for sending men to Korea to prevent a war. I'm against sending ships to Formosa because it will start one.

Let's be practical!

In Korea we have world opinion, the U. N., India, Pakistan, and Britain behind us. But if we get into the Chinese civil war and try to defend Formosa, we shall lose the support of India, Pakistan, and world opinion, as well as of the U. N. and England.

GORDON RAWLINSON

Cleveland, Ohio, September 11

THE *Nation* IN CLASSROOMS

The Editors of The Nation:

In freshman communications classes here at Michigan State College we often have students report on magazines. One of my students, a married veteran, at this moment first came upon *The Nation*, never having read any serious magazine before. In a way he was all thumbs, for the magazine as well as the report were new experiences for him.

But in his conclusion he suddenly forgot his notes and said what *The Nation* seemed to him to be. I think you will agree that you have been complimented as highly as is possible. "It's not for violence," he said, "but strictly for freedom. They want to get at wrongdoing through truth. They don't say anything without telling you why they say it."

KENNETH MACRORIE

Department of Written and Spoken English, Michigan State College

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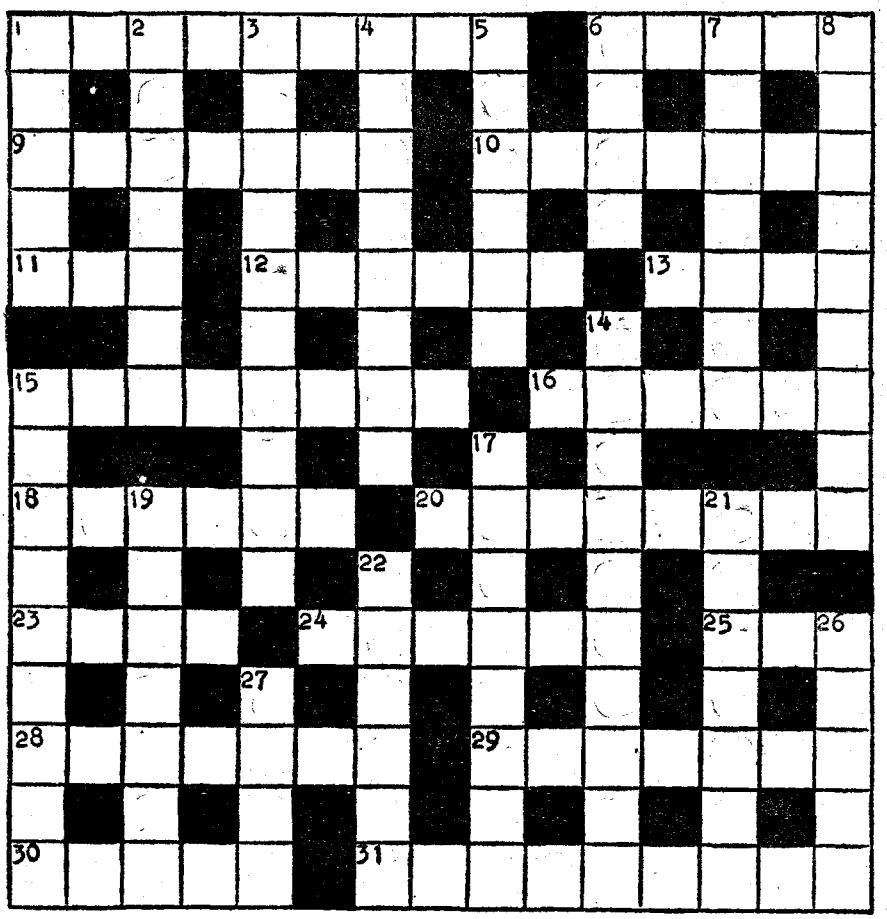
Crossword Puzzle No. 380

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Near relative of a Viola, played in *Twelfth Night.*
6 Hooks, singularly, what we have to stand.
9, 7 down, 20, 6 down, 11, 28. Obviously vegetable or mineral, but it shouldn't throw you off the track! (3, 5, 3, 4, 3, 7)
McCrae's poppies blew be-
11 See 9.
12 Could you make a Hamlet out of a dressed one?
13 Use it for the rest of the banjo.
15 Lamb said they endear absents.
16 Joined like a bishop (particularly an Anglican one!).
18 Workers and baseball players are sometimes out on this.
20 See 9.
23 The ostentatious Shaw?
24 A relative of Guanaco is finished with a nap.
25 "With - - - - - - - -" would be a bi-lingual hybrid corresponding to 16.
28. See 9.
29 Counterfeit.
30 Proper condition of society in the Middle Ages.
31 A great help for far-reaching ideas.

DOWN

1 The dictator's brother-in-law sounds like he came from Oklahoma.
2 Tawny animal with spots.
3 This dog's pretty lively at heart.
4 Mad about the equipment? Water artificially.
5 It's the confounded clue in mass material.
6 See 9 across.
7 See 9 across.
8 A break in the plural form might lead to a disastrous fall.
14 Saying that Colorado is north of Nebraska, for example?
15 Makes his topic a tasty morsel.
17 Such deposits are sometimes found in banks.
19 Archaically redressed? Each side of the diamond is eventually.
21 Imperturbability.
22 Not in great form, but still perfect.
26 Old people often dislike to have you find them out.
27 Back-track.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 379

ACROSS:—1 FAMILY SKELETON; 9 REGATTA; 10 ORINOCO; 11 TANGLE; 12 SMITHSON; 14 TABORET; 15 NOMAD; 17 YOUNG; 19 SHELVES; 21 INDEBTED; 23 TRACER; 25 CARLIST; 26 EDITION; 27 CORRESPONDENCE.

DOWN:—1 FIRST LADY; 2 MAGINOT; 3 and 8 LITTLE BIG HORN; 4 SWAP; 5 ENORMITIES; 6 EDICT; 7 OPOSSUM; 13 PROSPECTUS; 15 NEVER MIND; 16 DEFERENCE; 18 UNDERGO; 20 SUCTION; 21 INCH; 22 BRIER; 24 RENO.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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